20c JULY 23, 1951

New Republic

THE HATCHET MEN OF HOUSING — PAGE 10

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CORRESPONDENCE

From a Catholic Reader

SIR: I write to protest as vigorously as I can the review by M. R. Werner of Blanshard's *Communism, Democracy and Catholic Power* (*NR*, July 2). Your right to have the book reviewed is not questioned. I do question your good faith in having the book reviewed by a man obviously anti-Catholic, as is evident from his very first sentence and carried through to the end with many half-truths, distortions and outright falsifications. That, sir, I do question. . . .

I wish to point out just two of the many distortions in the review. The reviewer stated that Catholics are not permitted access to impartial facts. The *New Republic*, for one, has been part of a weekly reading diet for me, a devout Catholic, and I assure you it has been no matter of confession. Secondly, Mr. Werner treats of the danger to non-Catholics of (horrors!) a Catholic majority. In Ireland, where 90 percent of the population is Catholic, the first president, elected in 1937, was Dr. Douglas Hyde, a poet and scholar, and, incidentally, a Protestant. That, sir, is democracy in action; not mere verbiage. That is rendering to Caesar as well as to God. . . .

Let us strive to understand each other. In keeping with the grand tradition of the *New Republic*, may I suggest that you give the other side of the picture? Get a competent, liberal, Catholic scholar (one such is the Jesuit, Father George Higgins) to give an answer to Blanshard, or at least review the reviewer. I think your readers will be able to take impartial facts, too.

Carmel, Ind. IRENE SPAIN FULLAN

Skimmilk Powder

SIR: Helen Terry's letter (*NR*, July 2) raises a problem that concerns many people in Indiana and elsewhere. Indiana law prohibits sale of skimmilk powder (the true name of the product is "non-fat dry milk solids") in less than 10-pound packages. This has effectively prevented its sale in retail stores. However, most bakeries buy large quantities of the product and some are willing to sell it to individuals in small lots. A number of us here in West Lafayette buy the powder from a local bakery at 25 cents per pound. Incidentally, the wholesale (carlot) price at Midwest plants currently is about 17 cents, which gives our local baker a fairly large profit on these sales.

I suggest that Helen Terry and others contact their local bakers, ask for *spray process non-fat dry milk solids*, and reconstitute the product at the rate of one pound of powder to five quarts of water. This will give them high-quality skimmilk at five cents (or less) per quart compared with the retail price of fresh skim of 17 cents per quart or more. I estimate that I save at least $60 per year on my milk bills for my family of five by reconstituting non-fat dry milk solids.

NORRIS T. PRITCHARD
Assistant Professor of
Dairy Marketing

Lafayette, Ind.

Big Business for Big Profits

SIR: I would like to comment on the letter of Mrs. Mildred Reynolds, Raleigh, N.C., in the *NR* of June 18 on "The Way We Live Now."

I think Mrs. Reynolds would find the answers to a lot of her questions concerning the conditions that exist today, of which she so justly complains, in the fact that the production, distribution and selling of goods has been taken over by big business for big profits. No longer do we have the individually owned and operated family stores and "corner groceries" which dealt directly between the farmer, producer and consumer, but we now have the chain store and the huge, very swagger and costly super-market, the expensive equipment and operation of which is paid for by increased prices to the consumer, plus a very handsome profit to the owners, for how else can one explain the great numbers of such stores springing up daily?

Another reason for today's nightmare prices of foods is the big lie that greater production lowers prices. It does nothing of the kind. We all know that surplus foods, grown by government-supported prices or subsidies, are destroyed by the thousands of tons, or are bought up by the government, stored and finally sold for a fraction of their cost or given away to needy societies or nations. All this to hold up the price structure.

Then again there are the selfish, greedy, profit-hungry speculators and profiteers, who, producing nothing themselves, fatten and batten on the labor and production of others, and who play a very large part in the ever-rising prices of consumer foods.

When you come right down to fundamentals, you will find that there is a very great deal wrong with our cut-throat competitive system of production for profit. Profit, the making of money, has become the sole motive, end and aim of all activity, and no longer is service, or production for use that all may be bountifully supplied with the necessities of life, the guiding principle. . . .

Rialto, Calif. F. R. SCOTT

Truman, MacArthur & the *NR*

SIR: I have long admired the true liberalism of your magazine, and at one time considered Harold Ickes, one of your contributing editors, a great liberal.

However, the recent smear campaign of the *New Republic* and Harold Ickes against a truly great American, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, is about the lowest thing I have ever seen in print. It compares with the gigantic smear tactics of the dishonest and disgraceful Senator, Joseph McCarthy, of my home state of Wisconsin.

Harold Ickes says, "With a peace treaty with Japan in the making, MacArthur realized that he would not be able much longer to lord it over the obsequious Japanese." The insinuation that General MacArthur lorded it over the Japanese is a monstrous lie. Also Mr. Ickes criticized General MacArthur "for his blunders in World War II that finally ended in the surrender of the American armies in the Philippines," and Mr. Ickes went on, "MacArthur should have been left at Bataan to complete, in person, the unconditional surrender for which he alone was responsible. President Roosevelt should have ordered General Wainwright to slip away from the Philippines and take over in Australia, instead of the 'hero of Bataan'." If the MacArthur strategy was so blunderous, then I wonder why General Wainwright, who Mr. Ickes thinks could have done so much better, nominated General MacArthur at the Republican National Convention in 1948.

Mr. Ickes has shown himself to be outrageously biased on other matters also. Another example of his partialness is his smear campaign against Governor Dewey. Governor Dewey did not plan to run for Governor again. Then certain political maneuvers by the Democrats made it advisable for the Republicans to run Dewey again. The Hanley deal and incident were regrettable and I do not condone Governor Dewey for his part in it. However, this small incident is dwarfed by the recent scandals of the national administration and by the crime scandals in New York City. . . .

The March 26, 1951, issue of the *New Republic* is the only issue which gives any considerable coverage of the scandals of the Truman Administration and the crime scandals. . . .

(Continued on page 4)

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

WHEN WE BEGIN to write our treatise on the "Care and Nurture of Dark Horses," we shall point out that the critical problem is how long to keep them dark and when to trot them out. Over in Paris, Eisenhower is an aloof figure set apart from damaging domestic controversies. In Washington, the second strategy session of the inner circle of Republicans-for-Eisenhower has just been held, three weeks after the first. Between the first and second meetings word was passed around that GOP National Committeeman Harry Darby of Kansas is the man to see; also that some time in the fall or winter Ike will make his GOP availability known. Things are falling into Darby's lap. The "stop-Taft" supporters of all factions are willing to make at least temporary obeisance to Ike, hoping their turn will come later. Darby's chief problem is to keep the dark horse dark. He is trying to shush enthusiasts, knowing that Ike won't talk politics while wearing uniform. The only embarrassment of his Washington visit was that too many people tried to see him.

Meanwhile, the White House shows no apprehension. Cheerfully and candidly, Truman told the press that Ike's promise not to run in 1948 did not cover '52. Meanwhile shrewd India Edwards, head of the Women's Division of the Democratic Party, expressed confidence by a $100 wager that Harry would beat Ike were the latter nominated and made the bet under circumstances likely to provoke maximum publicity.

Sooner or later the test had to come on whether the Communists really wanted truce in Korea. It came over what seemed like a trivial issue, a truckload of dusty, angry US correspondents; but if it had not been this it would have been over some other item. The Communists seek to stage-manage the conference to make Asia think it is the UN that is suing for peace. This is untrue; the Communists finally accepted, through Malik, the standing UN invitation to discuss peace. To allow this misconception to continue meant throwing away the bloodily won ground gained for collective security against aggression.

Two other points are being made here: Military men regard the present line as the strongest and most defensible position UN forces could hold in central Korea; they would bitterly resent returning to the "almost indefensible" 38th Parallel. Second, if truce negotiations break down, it will be a new and bigger war on either side. The Chinese have 1,000 Soviet jet planes; we, on our part, would probably bomb beyond the Yalu. The old ground rules would be scrapped. Negotiators from either side know they are looking down loaded barrels.

Truman did not veto the new, bad law dealing with Mexican "wetbacks" (illegal immigrants). He signed it and sent Congress his "veto" message telling how bad the law is. He asked Congress to write a better law and to throw out some of the features of the one he had signed. There are two kinds of Mexican entrées—legal migratory workers, herded in seasonally under the auspices of the two governments to harvest crops, and illicit wetbacks. The first group has been treated so badly by private US contractors that the Mexican Government is cutting off the source unless minimum decencies are guaranteed by the US Government. It is the purpose of the new law to do this. But the real problem is the wetbacks. Perhaps a million Mexicans try to cross the border surreptitiously each year—no less than 500,000 were caught and deported last year. Truman calls the rate "phenomenal" and "increasing." These wetbacks have no legal standing; they take pittance peon pay and set the low farm wage for the whole Southwest. Their

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illicit entry is solicited by the huge industrial-style ranches which go partnership in illegality. Wetbacks submit to no border health inspection and spread amoebic dysentery and similar diseases on farms and in food processing plants where they work.

House Democratic leader McCormack is a responsible man. During the controls debate he charged on the floor that he had "seen members called off the floor by lobbyists, and handed amendments by lobbyists." Other Congressmen charge that the National Cotton Council summoned dozens of their colleagues to support amendments.

Notes: The recent ill health of Justice Reed points to a new Truman Supreme Court appointee—amiable, light-weight, Attorney General McGrath; this would meet the criticism that there is no Catholic on the Court but would not appreciably raise its caliber. . . . The $2,500 platinum-diamond bracelet stolen from Senator George's apartment last week turned out to be the bauble given the Senator's wife in 1942 as a keepsake for christening one of Joe Pew's Sun Shipbuilding Company vessels; trinkets like this create good will among Senators. . . . First anniversary of repeal of the anti-margarine-coloring law brings the estimate that removal of the little cellophane color capsule has saved housewives two billion minutes annually in slapping and kneading; this estimate may be off half an hour or so either way. The real time factor was the dreary 30-year fight to get this simple reform through Congress. . . . Armed guards watched outside the House Armed Services Committee, so confidential was secret testimony within; half an hour after General Sweeney testified, however, the news that the US has only 87 B-36 bombers ready for counterattack had leaked. . . . Why should the Soviets have spies, mourned Elmer Davis, when they have Congress? . . . FBI Chief Hoover boasted that he could lay hands overnight on 20,000 leading Communists but hasn't yet found the eight bail jumpers; failure like this would bring a "pro-Communist" charge for anybody else.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

The *New Republic* should hang its head in shame for its recent shameful behavior!

This letter, I suppose, will not be printed as I notice that rarely indeed do you ever print correspondence criticizing the *New Republic.*

Ripon, Wis. LIONEL HOLMES

Horney Pro and Con

SIR: As one who has enjoyed and admired Dr. Maskin's lectures on psychoanalytic theory I am hesitant to disagree with him, but his review of Karen Horney's *Neurosis and Human Growth* (*NR*, May 28) has prompted me to write a rebuttal.

I do agree that Horney's concept of the idealized image is not new, but what is important is that, for her, it is the "central issue from which new insights evolved" (p. 367). She freely admits her indebtedness to others for this basic construct, but she has explored it so thoroughly, has added so much to it, has developed the underlying dynamics so skillfully, that in a sense she has made it her own.

One is also tempted to question Maskin's statement that "aspects of the 'real self' must originate within a cultural milieu and be determined by given interpersonal experiences." This, I gather, is another way of implying that man cannot rise above his environment. The number of historical personages who have pulled themselves up by their bootstraps despite their cramping environment needs to be recalled here. . . .

Also, it is not so much a question that Horney "forgets her own axiom that the original disturbance which provokes the neurotic to seek new power goals is a disturbed human relationship in childhood" as it is a question of her emphasis on what is going on in the present. Blaming the invasion of childhood rights does little constructive for the present. However, the nervous system that suffered insults and reacted to them can still be tapped, the reactions (neurotic trends) are still active within the individual and basic to his current disturbances in interpersonal relationships.

To speak of Horney as having a "tendency to depreciate the neurotic" surely gives an unfair picture of one who is chiefly responsible for bringing psychoanalysis down from its esoteric heights. I am wondering if Dr. Maskin recalls the chapters in *Our Inner Conflict* entitled "The Poignancy of Neurotic Conflicts" and "Hopelessness"? I wonder if he recalls the very last sentence of *Neurosis and Human Growth?*

New York City ROBERT K. ROBISON

SIR: Mr. Robison's four-pointed rebuttal deserves a more extended reply than can be incorporated in a correspondence column. But hazarding a brief rejoinder, may I state that I see little value in disputing the precise point at which an old hypothesis metamorphoses into a new one.

Nor do I understand why a statement that "aspects of the 'real self' must originate within a cultural milieu" implies that "man cannot rise above his environment." All I meant to suggest was that if psychology is ever to dissociate itself completely from theology, it must limit itself to a study of human reaction patterns in relation to specific contexts just as the physicist studies energic reaction patterns under stated conditions without speculating about the *a priori* essence of energy.

I would certainly agree that merely "blaming" the past "does little constructive for the present," but I know of no way to comprehend the present manifestation of a neurosis except to relate it to antecedent events. True the defensive operations of the neurotic have a dynamic of their own and may lead to further complications. But a study of defensive operations which is not correlated longitudinally to the life history of the individual fails to clarify what the defences are defending.

Finally, I was not aware that Horney "is chiefly responsible for bringing psychoanalysis down from its esoteric heights." She has been a very effective popularizer, and while this may have considerable social advantages, psychoanalytic theory has not always gained in the process.

New York City MEYER H. MASKIN

Take It Easier

SIR: Does a mass-education system, such as ours, need to impose upon teachers and students the terribly long school day and the tediously long school year?

If a proper study were made I am sure it would be found that the educational results could be as great, if not greater, with a shorter working day and year for teachers and students.

MARTIN WOLFSON

Brooklyn, New York City

On Choosing Life

SIR: I was very much impressed by Stringfellow Barr's splendid review of Clair Hutchet Bishop's new book, *All Things Common.*

Whether by chance or deliberately, it was very well that it followed Robert Payne's review of *The Age of Terror.*

Humanity must learn the meaning of all things common and then choose Life, if we are to avoid Death.

Muskogee, Okla. RAYMOND RECTOR

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New Republic

THE GREAT GOLD RUSH OF 1951

"As I LISTEN to this debate," Rep. Sidney Yates (D, Ill. told the House as it considered a new Defense Production Act, "I cannot avoid the feeling that the raid is on—that this debate should be called the Great Gold Rush of 1951. Just as prospectors raced to file their claims in the gold fields of California in 1849," Yates went on, "so today claims are being staked in the pockets of the American consumers. Earlier today the oil and fat interests staked out their claims. [The pending] amendment is the claim being staked out by the beef and livestock interests, and I am sure that later on cotton people and the other agricultural interests will drive through amendments to assure their participation in the apparently rich lode in the pockets of the consumers."

"And this," he added sarcastically, "is without benefit of any kind of depletion allowance for the consumer, which most of the same gentlemen insist is necessary for those engaged in the mining and oil industries in our nation. On the contrary, they would fix the wages and earnings of the consumers at present levels, unrealistic levels in the face of the increases in food costs which are inevitable with the elimination of price controls on food products. . . ."

The bill which Yates was attacking would amount to an immoral grant of special privilege to certain farmers, landlords and manufacturers. As the July 29 deadline for passage of a new controls bill approaches, the likelihood is, as CIO Secretary James Carey bitterly pointed out to the House, that

> We are going to provide to the manufacturers a guarantee that they can keep their high prices no matter how high their profits are. We are going to guarantee to the big ranchers that their standard is not now parity but *150 percent of parity*; we are going to give landlords a 20 percent or more increase in rent over 1947; we are going to allow speculating and profiteering even on our government's defense program *not only to continue but now to get the blessing of Congress.*
>
> You who are worst off—you of fixed incomes and low incomes, you who are disabled servicemen or families of servicemen, you who are on pensions or are poorly paid white-collar workers—to you we promise higher and higher prices and rents, no matter how little you are able to bear it.

This fraudulent legislation is the result of the capture of Congress by a super-lobby, led by the American Farm Bureau Federation and the real-estate lobby, directed behind the scenes by the National Association of Manufacturers and the US Chamber of Commerce. Their raid on the economy has been successful because they were able to mobilize the greater part of the 322 Representatives, out of the total of 433, and 50 out of the 96 Senators who come from the 25 states which lead in the production of cotton, corn, wheat, cattle, dairy products, tobacco and soybeans. Southern reactionaries stood solidly with mid-Western Farm Bureau spokesmen of both parties on vote after vote to kill price rollbacks on food and other farm products and invite black markets in meat by canceling slaughtering quotas.

The strategy of the anti-controls lobby worked in the Senate because of the basically unrepresentative character of Congress today. Paul Douglas, at one point in the fight, explained what is wrong: "This amendment would have no chance of success were it not for the lack of representation which the great industrial states have in this fight. Five leading industrial states have one-third of the population of the country, but only one-tenth of the representation in the Senate."

The strategy worked in the House because a lackadasical majority leadership still allows Southern Democrats to form anti-Administration coalitions at will with no fear of retribution. The absence of majority party responsibility in the House gave the super-lobby against controls full leeway to make its blackmail threats effective. With the Democratic leadership making no stern demand for their loyalties, the Southerners in overwhelming numbers made common cause with the lobbies.

The New Republic, among others, called upon President Truman and the Democratic Party, following their victory in 1948, to enforce adherence to the party platform among Democrats in Congress, to deprive those who deserted the program of party preferment on committees and of patronage. We cannot see how President Truman's legislative score could be any lower if he had chosen to follow that course and outlaw Dixiecrat sympathizers from Democratic councils. We cannot see how he, or those who sincerely stand for Fair Deal principles can wage the 1952 campaign without admitting this error and pledging its correction if given another chance.

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BAIL—IS IT EXPENDABLE?

HAVING arrested the second echelon of Communist leaders on charges of conspiracy to advocate violent revolution, the government has been attempting to revoke all effective recourse to freedom prior to trial. This effort has been surrounded by kaleidoscopic confusion in the past few weeks. But very real problems exist and unless the ultimate answers are carefully and correctly drawn a dangerous precedent can be set.

The situation has its origins in the supplying of $171,000 bail by the Civil Rights Congress for 15 of the 17 Communist leaders arrested on June 20, 1951. The Civil Rights Congress, as newspapers reiterate, appears on the Attorney General's infamous list as a Communist-front organization. It is a non-profit trust fund which has supplied bail totaling $500,000 for various Communists arrested or convicted during the past few years. With the bail for Communists increasing with almost every arrest far beyond their personal resources and with professional surety companies refusing to stand bail for Communists, this organization has probably been the only means of effecting freedom by bail for Party leaders.

The Civil Rights Congress, however, has had a bad record for securing the appearance of bailed defendants, which is the prime duty of a surety. It had to forfeit $23,500 when Gerhardt Eisler jumped bail in 1949 pending deportation proceedings. And on July 2 of this year it had to forfeit $80,000 when four of the top Communists, convicted of the same charges now made against the secondary leaders, failed to surrender to begin serving their sentences. It was then that the federal court ordered an investigation of the organization, an investigation that produced nothing more than the jailing of three trustees for contempt of court in refusing to answer questions about the donors to the fund or furnish books and records.

In moving to increase the bail necessary for the freedom of the 17 second-tier leaders from $186,000 to $875,000, the government was obviously treading in unsound waters. Such a four-fold increase would, as Judge Sylvester Ryan held, constitute bail of the excessive type prohibited by the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution. Certainly the fact that other Communists had jumped bail did not warrant ignoring the constitutional rights of these 17 defendants. Yet the judge strangely reserved the government's right to renew at a later date its demand for an unconstitutional amount of bail, an action that leaves the matter somewhat in flux.

The government was on firmer legal ground in moving to revoke the $171,000 bail posted by the Civil Rights Congress and to prevent that fund from ever again underwriting bail in the New York Federal Court. It is generally recognized that a judge has broad discretion to reject or revoke a bond offered by a surety in which the judge for good cause lacks confidence. Thus if he reasonably doubts the surety's purpose or ability to secure the appearance of a bailed defendant, he may refuse or revoke a bond even though the financial responsibility of the surety is beyond question.

The most telling point against the eligibility of the Civil Rights Congress as a surety has been its flat refusal to take the responsible attitude expected of a surety or to aid in any way in search for the four fugitives who failed to surrender July 2. The trustees declined to say whether they even knew these men for whom they had vouched and for whose appearance they had guaranteed. Judge Ryan's conclusion that the organization is "unworthy of trust" as a surety may thus be an invulnerable one. Yet it fails to provide a satisfactory solution to the larger questions at stake.

If, in fact, the barring of the Civil Rights Congress eliminates the only possible surety for Communist leaders, they are as effectively denied the right to bail as if an outright denial of that right were imposed. And an outright denial, as proposed in a bill just filed in Congress, would probably run afoul of the Constitution. At the same time, the reluctance of the trustees to reveal information about the fund cannot be viewed apart from the whole hysterical atmosphere surrounding the current exposé of Communists and all who aid them. To reveal the names of the donors to the fund, for example, would doubtless subject them to the McCarthy type of public character assassination. This would as quickly dry up the bail source as an outright denial of bail.

There is no easy solution to these problems. The government is entitled to responsible assurances that bailed defendants will be present at their trials, but it is not entitled to destroy the right to bail. If the Communists are to have any right to bail, something more than a flat rejection of the only possible means of meeting the high prerequisites must occur. Perhaps the government means to deny all these individuals the right to freedom on bail. If so, it is another ugly manifestation of the virus which attacks the very freedoms we so blatantly espouse, freedoms which were designed to be used even by those whose actions and thoughts we hate.

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THE WEEK

TRUMAN'S T-BONES

The day after he had joined his party to rip the backbone out of meat controls by forcing the Administration to give slaughterers free rein, Rep. Gordon McDonough (R, Calif.) got to his feet in the House to lodge a bitter complaint. "There is no logical reason," he said, "why my people in Los Angeles should be penalized over the people of Jackson County, Mo." He argued that "his people" were being discriminated against because Michael DiSalle's Office of Price Stabilization had set T-bone steak ceilings for Los Angelenos five cents higher than for Missourians, who happen to be situated closer to the major meat-producing areas.

McDonough was not willing to "buy" the OPS's simple reasoning that its ceilings were set to allow for differentials in freight and handling charges. "I am not here charging," he said "that the inhabitants of President Truman's home county were shown political preference, but after all, DiSalle was appointed by President Truman, who may be running for Senator from Missouri some day."

McDonough's remarks reflected the reckless attitude of House Republicans from towns and cities, who were instrumental in the lower body's axing of the OPS's slaughter-control powers. These powers, DiSalle argued, were essential if even a skeleton of price control was to be maintained. Without them, the country is destined to see the repetition of the World War II experience, when the emergence of 23,000 new slaughterers, most of them in the shade of the black market, made controls increasingly unworkable.

DiSalle's plea was seconded by Rep. Brent Spence (D, Ky.), who tried vainly to put the farm lobby's fight into perspective: "Property rights," he pleaded, "are very insignificant as compared to the authority to take the boys of America to fight for our country." All the price controls were doing was to assure some measure of fairness and "the only way to do it is to put your hand on them and say 'You shall have what you have had in past years; you shall have what the historical pattern entitled you to'."

But Spence's plea went unheeded. The farm bloc voted against slaughter controls to a man. DiSalle's personal conference with the Agriculture Committee, an attempt to save at least a fragment of control, proved fruitless. But the agricultural interests still might not have succeeded had they not had the support or acquiesence of "two-faced" city and town Republicans like McDonough. On the final roll call 112 Administration supporters were overwhelmed by 200 coalition votes. Reporters who kept a careful watch of those who filed past the tellers detected only three Republicans voting for the consumers on this key issue.

Another observer, a liberal House member, counted the rebel Democrats at 48. Thus three Republicans voted against the consumer for each Democrat supporting the special interests. "This vote," said farm-bloc leader Harold Cooley, "ought to make my job easy."

SCHACHT v. POINT FOUR

Hjalmar Schacht, the man who guided Hitler-Germany's economic exploitation of Europe, is again a sought-after figure, now that he has emerged unscathed from the last of a number of denazification trials. Indonesia's invitation to the "wizard," announced last week by one of that country's officials at the United Nations, is not the only one he has received in recent months. A number of other "underdeveloped" countries have apparently been beckoning the old man to work miracles for them. Brazil was for a while quite anxious to have his advice, and more recently the Iranians have announced that he is scheduled to give a series of economic lectures at the University of Teheran next fall.

This improvement in Schacht's fortunes is, among other things, a challenge to such laudable American programs as Point Four and multilateralism. Many Near Eastern, and to a lesser degree East Asian, countries have long admired the "efficient" German way of doing things. In their desire to achieve quick industrial power, they may be prone to adopt the variety of Schacht devices which made the Central European economy an autarchic nightmare in the 1930s. It is up to the US to make clear the weakness in this kind of recipe by making Point Four show more real achievements.

Many countries might prefer a steel plant to an improved rice paddy, but they will think twice if the rice experts are knocking at their door equipped to do the job, while the economic "wizard" has only a shopworn bag of tricks.

BOMB AMONG PUBLISHERS

One of the best kept secrets since D-Day exploded on an unsuspecting publishing industry July 13, when the International Typographical Union (AFL) announced that it will begin publication this month of daily newspapers in four cities in which they have suffered either from lost strikes or lockouts. Five more dailies are set for publication a few months hence.

The tabloid papers, to be called the *Daily News-Digest*, will be largely supplied with news from a central Washington bureau but will be edited and published in the localities. Advertising and circulation offices have been established. The four cities where immediate operation will begin are: Allentown, Pa.; Monroe, La.; Texarkana, Ark.; and Meriden, Conn.

"The papers have been created to provide competition in communities where newspaper monopolies exist and to insure maintenance of union working conditions," the ITU said.

Publishers were not slow to recognize the power of this startling strike weapon. Some even felt that they would have to be more circumspect in their handling

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of news; others saw it as a possible force to retard the alarming tendency toward mergers. It seems likely that some publishers would open the door to ITU organization rather than risk the threat of competition.

For the ITU it means even more. Many ITU members who have been receiving strike benefits for as long as four years will go back to work in union shops at a saving of thousands of dollars to the union.

For two years the ITU has been publishing a daily in Colorado Springs, Colo. Following the four new starts this month, Springfield, Mo., Lorain, Ohio, Huntington, Beckley and Charleston, W. Va., will be next in line for the new venture.

LOBBYING PAYS OFF

The Senate for the past few days has debated amendments to the Interior Department Appropriations Bill that would drastically alter the government's public-power policy and ultimately increase the price of electric power to consumers. This "great debate" received virtually no press coverage despite the fact that the private-utility lobby has been working since early this year to slip the legislation through Congress.

Three months ago, the House passed an amendment introduced by Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R, N. Y.), spokesman for the power lobby, providing that none of the money appropriated for the Interior Department shall be used to start construction facilities in areas covered by private-utility transmission lines servicing federal establishments and preferred users of government-generated power. The House voted more than $9 million of cuts in the proposed outlay for construction of public-power lines despite pleas that all possible power is needed for defense production in the present emergency.

The Keating amendment would allow private utility companies to build and own transmission lines, buy public-produced power at a low price and sell it to consumers at their own price. It would mean higher profits for the utility companies and higher prices to the consumers who should receive the benefit of cheap electric power generated at government-built dams. Under the amendment, the wheeling contracts, whereby the government and the private utility companies co-operate in the transmission of government-generated power, would work entirely to the advantage of the power trust. Depriving the Interior Department of the right to build a transmission line removes the only weapon the government has to compel private companies to fulfill contracts. It would enable Pacific Gas & Electric, for example, to accept or reject any request for wheeling power to defense establishments, municipalities, REA co-operatives and other customers who have preference status under the law.

When the Interior Appropriations bill reached the Senate floor last week, President Truman, in a letter to Sen. Carl Hayden (D, Ariz.), urged that the Senate reverse the "unfortunate" action of the House and restore the cuts, especially funds for building public-owned transmission lines to carry power from public-owned dams. But the Senate, like the House, yielded to the wishes of the power lobby, headed by Purcell L. Smith. The highest-paid lobbyist in Washington, Smith receives $65,000 a year as president of the National Association of Electric Companies which includes 102 private power companies in 41 states and the District of Columbia. Under his direction, the state private power representatives since the beginning of the year have held luncheons and dinners for Congressional delegations to spell out in the name of "economy" the reasons why Congress should scuttle public power. They reaped the fruits of those labors a few days ago.

The Senate amended the Keating amendment to provide that the government cannot build transmission lines except where the Secretary of the Interior determines that the private company is "unwilling" or "unable" to do so. Introduced by Sen. Lester Hunt (D, Wyo.), the amendment passed by voice vote. Interior Department officials point out that it is little better than the Keating amendment since private power companies will seldom let themselves be found in the position of being unable or unwilling to build a transmission line.

While the Senate restored some of the over-all House cuts, it slashed appropriations for the $3 million of transmission lines in Western Missouri, California and Colorado. Administration leaders were unable to retain the permanent $300,000 continuing fund of the Southwestern Power Administration, designed to permit the government to purchase power for resale. Last year, for example, the government used $200,000 of the fund to purchase power which it sold for $1 million. The Senate provided a $250,000 continuing fund for this year, but the Interior Department must now ask Congress each year for approval of the fund. The power lobby will undoubtedly attempt to kill the fund entirely next year.

The Interior Department, which has suffered drastic cuts in the past, has never received such policy blows as the ones dealt by this Congress. Unfortunately, only a handful of Senators were present on the opening day of debate when the Senate Chaplain, Rev. Charles Wesley Lowry, offered a prayer in which he asked that the Senators, "charged with great responsibilities and subjected to many pressures from many quarters," yield not to "their own desires and designs. . . . Lift them above clamor and partisanship. . . . Help them with energy and wisdom to serve this whole people."

NON-SKEDS UPHELD

The long-awaited report of Sen. John Sparkman's Senate Select Small Business Committee on the non-scheduled airlines —sharply critical of the Civil Aeronautics Board—was finally released July 10, dissipating fears that it would be toned down.

As the *New Republic* reported in a series of three recent articles (June 4, 11 and 18), the committee charged that the CAB is "servile" to the interests of the major certificated carriers and urged that it "reassess its whole approach to air transportation."

The committee further found that the non-scheduled airlines are creating a new and healthy market and urged the CAB to rescind its "death edict" which would wipe out the irregular carriers as an industry.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

THE FRENCH SPAR

Although the news of the Korean negotiations was of course welcome to the Western Europeans it came rather as an anti-climax, without the impact either of surprise or of relief. Rumors of secret talks between the Americans and Russians through neutral intermediaries had been in circulation—and not convincingly denied—for many weeks before the Malik statement and its sequel. Anyway, the Korean "abscess"—as the French describe it—which had been painful in proportion as there was acute dread of its spreading, began to fade out of the foreground of the large area of European political aches when the tide of MacArthurism receded at the Senate hearing in Washington.

The Western European man in the street acquired a new respect for President Truman, seeing in him a skillful political psychologist who not only let, but also induced, the proponents of bombs-beyond-the-Yalu talk themselves out of favor with American public opinion. But the Europeans, who needed no convincing, were not listening any more. Direct contact between American and European public opinions was broken off, or at least blurred. Iran took the place of Korea in the interest of the British, and the mood of the French and Italians after the elections was even more than before dominated less by fear of world war than by concern with domestic problems of peace.

In a speech French President Auriol made the day General Ridgway sent his second message to the Chinese, there was a passing reference to Korea and a long and fervent plea to the French in support of social justice. The theme—not new of course but refurbished—occupied as large a place in the attention of European politicians of all parties, as far as the extreme Right, in the early phase of the Korean truce negotiations as did the warnings of American political leaders against slackening in the rearmament drive. The news from Tokyo and Washington shared modest headlines with the Frankfort Socialist Conference that disinterred the Second International and with the Second World Congress of the World Federation of Free Trade Unions at Milan.

The reason for the sudden revival of interest in social justice and Socialism was not hard to find—in France, at least. It comes from the fact that, although the First National Assembly elected since 1946 leans heavily toward the Right, the voice of the French voters really called toward the Left. This was the case in the Italian election too—the Communists polled 24 percent of the actual votes; the fellow-traveling Socialists, 21 percent; the anti-Communist Socialists, nearly five percent; and the Gronchi-Dossetti left wing within the Christian Democratic Party certainly counted for a good-sized chunk of that Party's 36 percent. But the Italian elections were local; the French were national—and the new French Assembly will either hand the country over to General de Gaulle or manage to keep it democratic. The London *Observer* points out:

> Among the electors, there is no supporting evidence that France has in fact opted for Conservative rule. Supporters of social and economic change would certainly include the 26 percent of the electorate who voted Communist, the 15 percent who voted Socialist, most of the 12 percent who voted MRP (Popular Republican) and a large part of the 10 percent who voted left-wing Radical and for splinter groups. To these should be added a substantial proportion of the electorate who voted Gaullist in the hope that the General would exercise more, rather than less, control over the national economy. . . . From now on France's usefulness as an ally will largely depend on how far it proves possible to detach millions of manual and white-collared workers from their Soviet loyalty and give them a stake in their own French society. . . . If inflation runs riot, prices soar and scarcities increase, it is still doubtful whether France has the resilience and political cohesion to meet the strain.

But, as the Manchester *Guardian* comments:

> The central problem is that, while everyone in France wants conditions to improve, it is only the Left half in the parliamentary coalition which wants substantial reform.

Even the arch-Conservative Paul Reynaud recognizes that the cost of living has risen higher and faster in France during the last 12 months than in any other country. But the three-party coalition which since the end of the war tried to equalize sacrifices in terms of social security and justice has lost its effective power. On the other hand, the supporters of social justice though now a minority in the Assembly are also now—more than ever—the representatives of a majority of the people. It is not surprising, therefore, that one of the practical problems of the new Assembly was the seating arrangement: even the members elected by the Right were reluctant to take places in the segment on the right in the Palais Bourbon. Nor is it strange that even the conservative *Monde* of Paris should find domestic politics of more importance than that of the Korean truce, and suggest that the future of France depends on the "Socialist dilemma."

If the Socialists compromise with the Right on social justice, even with the justification of "saving the regime" of the Third Force, they will give the Communists irresistible force or decree the creation of real Fascism. Thus, says the *Monde*, the problem is plain:

> French democracy cannot live without an authentic non-Communist Left party. No non-Communist Left party can be firmly built at present without a Socialist Party strong in the possession of a coherent and applicable policy. Any further slipping toward the Right on the part of the Socialist Party . . . creates the conditions for the collapse of the democratic regime.

It may be—as some Frenchmen think—that the Kremlin was willing to permit cautery of the Korean "abscess" precisely because the next phase of Communist strategy is to exploit the pathological possibilities of France's internal situation. Certainly the danger to French democracy is also a threat to the Atlantic Community.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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HOUSING: A VANISHING VISION

II. The Real-Estate Lobby Assumes Command

by Harry Conn

PUBLIC HOUSING, the only hope of millions of low-income Americans for decent shelter, has tragically failed to provide that shelter.

A maximum of 400,000 public-housing units could have been built under the Housing Act of 1949; only 1,480 family dwellings had actually been completed and occupied under that authorization as of June 8, 1951—a pitiful total in contrast to the urgent need.

There are explanations for this and, unquestionably, explanations for the explanations. The advocates of public housing have found arrayed against them obstacles which they have not had the resources and energies to overcome. Some of these are:

1. Public-housing referendums. As of June 18, 1951, public housing had lost 25 out of 38 local referendums plus one state referendum in California.
2. Price increases, creating indecisions in the construction industry.
3. Appropriations for public-housing staff too long delayed.
4. Infiltration of local housing authorities by opponents of public housing.
5. Complacency of federal housing agencies.
6. Difficulties of selecting housing sites, due in large part to prejudice and to fears created by the opponents of public housing.
7. The effectiveness of the real-estate lobby.

The sum total of all these obstacles is the last: the effectiveness of the real-estate lobby. With pardonable pride, the lobby would probably admit that to varying degrees its members have contributed to each item on the list. It is a toast to the success they have thus far achieved.

The real-estate lobby is not one of the recurring myths which haunt Washington. That it is a live and extremely active pressure unit was conclusively shown in the thousands of pages of hearings before the House Select Committee on Lobbying last year. Under the chairmanship of the late Rep. Frank Buchanan of Pennsylvania, that committee revealed the organization, program and technique of one of the smoothest collection of operators ever to set up office on the banks of the Potomac.

Copies of the numerous volumes of the hearings are now rare enough to be collectors' items. It has been reported that Rep. Ralph Gwinn (R, N. Y.) and some fellow House members cleaned the Government Printing Office out of copies shortly after they came off the press. Representative Gwinn may have been fearful of public airing of the sentiments expressed by his good friend Herbert U. Nelson, executive vice-president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, before the Buchanan Committee: "I do not believe in democracy. I think it stinks. . . . I don't think anyone except direct taxpayers should be allowed to vote. I don't believe that women should be allowed to vote at all."

Nelson heads one of the most prominent and effective real-estate lobbies. In 1945, the NAREB organized the Realtors' Washington Committee from which springs many of the effective campaigns against rent control and public housing throughout the country. The Realtors were one of the first organizations to perfect the technique of grass-roots operations under central direction. The RWC gives that direction, performing as a GHQ. Contact lists are made up for each Senator and Representative of those who are personally close to the Congressman and who would be most effective in applying pressure. These relationships are meticulously developed.

When crucial votes are coming up, telegram and mail campaigns are initiated, usually by notifying the state NAREB headquarters, which then sets the avalanche in motion. This operation is seen at work in one of a series of telegrams sent to the RWC from Phil E. Berg, executive vice-president of the Colorado Association of Real Estate Boards, on April 12, 1948:

> I've just sent out a "rush" bulletin to all my board presidents urging immediate action by them and their members to contact by wire or phone our two Senators on the TEW [Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Bill] before floor action this week. I am enclosing a copy of the special bulletin for your information.

In 40 states throughout the country, in 1,115 local real-estate boards, similar action is proceeding. This is the buildup for pressure and the organization which can do it. One who has been on the receiving end of this pressure and who understands it, Rep. Richard Bolling of Missouri, told a meeting of the National Housing Conference in Washington several weeks ago: "The National Association of Real Estate Boards and the international Communist Party have one thing very much in

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common: At every moment, of every hour, of every day, they are fighting. They never cease, never miss a chance to defeat the enemy."

Comparable in power and effectiveness to the NAREB is the United States Savings and Loan League. It is directed by Morton Bodfish, famed for his maneuvering in countless political deals. Bodfish has an organization similar to the NAREB, and he lines up his policyholders, stockholders and depositors in the "fight against Socialism."

Bodfish is extremely close to such key officeholders as Rep. Jesse Wolcott of Michigan and former Representative and now Senator Everett Dirksen of Illinois. It is an accepted fact in Chicago, Bodfish's headquarters, that Dirksen is politically indebted to the Savings and Loan League boss. How Dirksen does Bodfish's bidding is shown in the following letter dated May 27, 1947:

Dear Ev: It's politically unwise for the Republicans not to do something on slum clearance. Why don't you have the legislative counsel give this some study and polishing? It's the best job Russell, Ferguson and myself can do.

Why don't you add a section which requires that the funds which are to be appropriated should arise from the liquidation of government-owned real-estate mortgages, et cetera? I can't visualize just the right twist, but there is one that is just right and I am sure you have it. . . . Morton Bodfish.

Dirksen followed through on Bodfish's proposal. On July 1, 1947, he wrote to Bodfish: "The slum clearance bill has been introduced. . . ."

Lined up with these organizations are such other special interest groups as the National Association of Home Builders, the National Retail Lumber Dealers' Association, the National Apartment Owners' Association, the Mortgage Bankers' Association and the United States Chamber of Commerce.

Although it is often denied that there is so broad based a real-estate lobby, Nelson, the NAREB executive vice-president, admitted this fact on June 3, 1949, in a letter to former Rep. Walter C. Ploeser of Clayton, Mo., quoted in the Buchanan Committee record:

We have what is called a real-estate lobby. It consists of 18 trade associations interested in construction and real estate. These trade associations have several hundred thousand members. We correlate our efforts very well and put up the best battle we know how. We're small people. On the whole, I think, we're holding the line pretty well.

Almost every Friday representatives of these 18 like-minded organizations meet for luncheon at the Statler Hotel in Washington, calling themselves the National Homes Foundation. Here, as Nelson points out, they correlate their activities. Housing agency officials have frequently appeared as speakers. Here pleasant relationships are built between the industry and the government officials. Lindsay Warren, US Comptroller General, recently told Sen. Paul Douglas (D, Ill.) and his Senate Committee on Ethics in Government that these friendships have flourished to the point where, in some cases, housing officials have received such gifts as TV sets, fifths of choice liquor or possibly even more substantial things from builders, contractors and realtors.

> It is a terrible and shocking thing that the real-estate lobby—which pretends to speak for those whose business is providing houses—has become the real enemy of the American home. *President Truman, in a speech before the United States Conference of Mayors, Washington, D. C., March 21, 1949.*

The National Homes Foundation operates closely with such groups as the Committee for Constitutional Government, the Foundation for Economic Education, the Constitutional Educational League and other organizations of the extremely reactionary vintage. Lammot and Irénée duPont, J. Howard Pew, Edward A. Rumely, Merwin K. Hart and Joseph P. Kamp serve common purpose with the real-estate lobby. The identity of Rumely, Hart, Pew and the duPonts with "big business" brings home the true relationships of the lobby and makes ludicrous Nelson's oft-repeated statement that "we're small people."

The pro-public-housing groups never cease to be amazed at the number of members of the real-estate lobby who are promoted to top positions in the official housing family. In November, 1950, for example, the NAREB *Journal* reported: "New faces are rising to the top in the Washington housing picture. Newest is jovial, intelligent William A. Clarke, president of the W. A. Clarke Mortgage Company, Philadelphia. He has agreed to work as consultant to the newly established Office of Real Estate Credit, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. A private enterpriser, he talks the realtors' and builders' language and is looking out for their interests." Clarke is a top official of the Mortgage Bankers Association, the organization that is unofficially part of the mortgage bankers' strike for higher interest rates on Veterans Administration and FHA loans.

The recent establishment of the Voluntary Credit Restraint Program under the Federal Reserve Board, in which leading MBA figures are prominent, is a further aid to the mortgage bankers in their strike. A committee set up under this program mainly determines who does and who does not receive loans. The FRB is play-

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ing an odd game with the very group which is now putting the housing industry out of business.

With the demands of the real-estate lobby playing a key part in slowing desperately needed defense housing, it is startling to find that the industry has been able to place its men in some of the most vital positions in the defense program. The following paragraph from *Building* (Dec., 1950), an industry publication, tells part of the story:

> Two new appointees to the National Production Authority to supervise construction are Frank Creedon and John Hayes. Creedon will head a Facilities Branch to provide construction and equipment for the military (including defense plants). He was with the WPB during World War II and was Housing Expediter in 1947. Hayes, former director of the Commerce Department's Construction Division, will direct the NPA's Building Materials Branch, and will channel construction supplies with reference to defense requirements. With James Follin's earlier appointment, to direct construction controls, *the industry now has three able men in the NPA hierarchy.*" (Italics mine.)

Creedon also prevailed on Foley to appoint Benjamin Shulman as director of the Defense Liaison Staff of the Administrator with the understanding that he will become the czar of defense housing once the new housing bill is passed by Congress. Shulman has worked with Creedon before—to secure priorities for rebuilding the Tanforan Race Track at the end of World War II, when materials were still scarce even for really essential construction. They are a doubtful combination at best.

The real-estate lobby has not only put its people in top government positions; it has brazenly and effectively worked its way into public-housing groups, too. There is the case of W. J. Levitt of Manhasset, N. Y., who is one of the nation's major builders of low-cost housing. Levitt has made fabulous profits with government assistance and large savings from the use of non-union labor.

Levitt publicly supports the cause of public housing but qualifies that by saying the 810,000 units proposed by the Housing Act of 1949 goes too far. Still, he has been clasped to the bosom of many public-housing advocates. Last March 20 he was a principal speaker at the National Housing Policy Conference in St. Louis.

Actually, builder Levitt has been tremendously effective in the fight against public housing in the defense-housing program. He has issued an expensive booklet on the question of defense housing in which he says: "The public-housing issue—the thing that is paralyzing defense housing by blocking Congressional action—can only be resolved when Congress recognizes that public housing is a social program and is not needed for the defense-housing effort."

Levitt opposed public housing in the defense-housing program when he testified before a Senate Committee on February 1, 1951. In addition, official lobby registrations show that he has hired Carl Byoir and Associates, public-relations experts, at $36,000 a year plus expenses to lobby officially along this line. Byoir is an acknowledged foe of public housing and is closely associated with such extremely reactionary organizations as the Foundation for Economic Education. In fact, he has been one of their major fund raisers.

The NAREB has issued a set of materials on how to infiltrate women's clubs, church groups, trade unions, veterans' organizations and other groups interested in public housing. One man who has effectively operated in this capacity is John C. Williamson, an attorney with offices at Stoneleigh Court in Washington, D. C. Williamson, as the housing representative of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, sits in many public-housing meetings. On the other side of the street, Williamson is a representative of the Trailer Coach Dealers' National Association. He was recently successful in having trailers included in the Senate version of the defense-housing bill.

About two years ago Williamson was involved in a high-pressure lobbying campaign designed to add $500-$2,000 to the cost of an $8,000 veteran's home through increase of the interest rate on GI loans from four to 4.5 percent. This move probably would have succeeded if the *Vet-Times* had not exposed it to broad daylight. That newspaper showed how most veterans' organizations except the American Legion and the American Veterans Committee have been infiltrated by the higher interest rate lobby. After the exposé all of the veterans' groups, with the exception of the VFW, withdrew their support of the bill.

The key figure in the lobbying campaign was H. F. Dunton, president of the First Federal Savings and Loan Bank of Altadena, Calif., a suburb of Los Angeles. The lobby itself goes under the name of Veterans Organizations Council of Altadena. Surprisingly, for a veterans' group in a not particularly large community, it has issued tons of literature annually at the cost of hundreds of thousands of dollars. As to the council's source of income one can only surmise.

This is not the whole picture. There are many, many more examples of the real-estate lobby in operation in government, in housing agencies, in church and civic and veterans' organizations, where the tireless efforts of so many worthy citizens on behalf of low-cost and public housing have been nullified by representatives of the real-estate lobby who have climbed in, brought their friends and set up shop. How this is done in a local community will be discussed in another article in this series.

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THE BIRTH OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

by Joseph P. Lash

VAST CHANGES are taking place in the structure of the United Nations. Challenges are developing that may be decisive for its fate. Every Member State is undertaking a reappraisal of the Charter. And while some are analyzing and interpreting it as if it were the constitution of an evolving world community, others are asserting more vigorously than ever that the Charter must be viewed as a "simple multilateral treaty" which should infringe as lightly as possible upon the sovereign rights of the signatory states.

At San Francisco the framers of the Charter lodged responsibility for the development of a UN peace-enforcement machinery with the Security Council and a Military Staff Committee of Big-Five representatives working under its direction.

Implicit in this provision was not only the assumption that the Big Five would work harmoniously toward the creation of such machinery, but that it would not be used where one of the permanent members of the Council was the aggressor since the latter by the use of the veto could prevent the application of sanctions.

Only the chance circumstance that the USSR was boycotting the UN at the time of the Korean aggression permitted the UN to rally collective aid for the Republic of Korea. But whatever the intentions of the framers of the Charter, world public opinion now assumes that the UN will act in future cases of aggression, whether the breakers of the peace are big or small powers.

The Uniting for Peace Resolution adopted by the General Assembly under American leadership was designed to enable it to do so. It provided (a) a method of by-passing the veto-bound Security Council, (b) a 14-nation Peace Observation Commission which could patrol, observe and report on any situation likely to endanger world peace, and (c) a 14-nation Collective Measures Committee to report to the 1951 session of the Assembly on methods of peace enforcement.

American leadership on the uniting for Peace Resolution stemmed from US determination ever since June 25, 1950, to transform the UN into an organization capable of coping with Soviet aggression as well as with such lesser threats to peace as Kashmir, Palestine and Indonesia. The Acheson resolution replaced the negativism of the Truman doctrine with the positive purpose of strengthening the UN as the framework of resistance to Soviet expansionism. Before its passage regional agreements such as those for Atlantic and hemispheric defense were carefully kept clear of the UN so as not to entangle their operations with the paralyzing veto. Now the trend is in the other direction: the effort is to bring all regional arrangements under the big umbrella of the UN and to make the UN's collective-security system the foundation of American foreign policy.

The incalculable advantages deriving from this turn can be readily appreciated if one imagines for a moment what America's situation would be today in the Far East if she had acted unilaterally in Korea without the support of the UN. This greater dependence on the UN became possible only with the enactment of the Uniting for Peace Resolution, and up to now the machinery it established has worked. The Soviet bloc after the Malik veto of November 30, 1950, opposed the Assembly's taking up the question of Chinese intervention in Korea, but it participated in the ensuing Assembly discussions although they culminated in passage of the US-sponsored resolution condemning Chinese aggression in Korea.

This spring, however, when the Assembly reconvened to consider an embargo on war materials to Peking, the Soviet-bloc nations took a stronger stand. They refused to participate either in the discussion or the vote, contending that measures such as an embargo were within the exclusive competence of the Security Council.

The showdown may very well come next winter at the Paris session of the Assembly when the Collective Measures Committee will submit its recommendations for an effective collective-security system. This committee, under American prodding, has been studying the whole range of sanctions that can be invoked against a breaker of the peace—from calling him an aggressor to the supreme sanction of military action. Three subcommittees are at work: one studying political measures; another, financial and economic; and a third, military. League of Nations experiences with embargoes, the "preclusive buying" policies of World War II, the past effectiveness of withdrawal of ambassadors, the lessons of Korea, and the like, are all being evaluated with an eye to the place they might have in a UN armory of peace-enforcement weapons.

Planning for the military aspects of peace-enforcement action has taken two forms: nations have been asked to inform the UN what they are ready to do about earmarking contingents of their armed forces for UN use as called for by the Acheson resolution. At the same time the subcommittee on military measures is studying the organization and functions of the panel of military experts.

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The framers of the Charter had anticipated that this planning would be done by the Military Staff Committee provided for in Article 43. This committee was to have become a sort of general staff responsible for the strategic direction of the national armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council under agreements concluded between the UN and Member States. But the Military Staff Committee bogged down in the same morass as the UN's committee on atomic energy and conventional armaments. When the Korean aggression took place there were no armed forces subject to the call of the UN, no general staff to direct them and no UN agency to guide the general staff. Consequently, when the Security Council voted to aid South Korea, it was obliged to turn over to the US responsibility for a unified command and to call on Member States to make troops available.

The unhappy experience of the UN with the former Supreme Commander appointed by the US demonstrated the need for a mechanism through which the UN could exercise control over all of the operations carried on in its name, without at the same time giving over the direction of military operations to a body of 50 or 60 countries. The creation of such a mechanism will be one of the tasks of the panel of military experts.

The "earmarking" process was designed to give the panel of military experts some notion of the size of the armed forces that might be at the disposal of the UN in an emergency. But there is serious question whether the replies now coming in to the Secretariat in response to the earmarking request give the panel much to work with. The answers of the Western Big Three, for example, simply enumerated the military commitments they now have in defense of the free world—ranging from Korea, the North Atlantic Area, to the overseas colonies of Britain and France—and represented these as present fulfillment of their obligations.

The significance of such replies is debatable. They clearly portend that there will be no early creation of a supranational UN police force, army or legion. Even as an earnest of intentions, earmarking still has to be tested. The American commitment, for example, will be important only when it has been ratified by Congress. The Administration wisely decided that the middle of the Korean War and MacArthur hearings was no time to plunge the earmarking issue into Congress, particularly since the Senate already has shown great sensitivity on the subject of the authority under which the President committed armed forces to Korea last June. Was it as Commander-in-Chief in the interests of American safety, asked Senator Gillette (D, Iowa), or on the call of the United Nations? If the latter, he asked, where does Congress, which alone has the power to declare war, come in? These questions will have to be answered before a US commitment to the UN will have real significance, and it is reported that the President may seek Congressional authorization to commit US troops to the UN when he deems it in the national interest.

How do the other powers feel about these developments? Before June 25 many small nations had wondered how strong a reed UN guarantees would prove to be if they were attacked by one of the Big Five or their satellites. What help could they expect from the UN in light of the Big-Power veto? UN aid to South Korea in June and July went far in reassuring them. But their new sense of security was severely jolted when Malik returned to the Security Council to tie it up in knots.

As a result, when the Assembly convened last fall, the Acheson proposal for by-passing the veto commanded the widest support from the non-Communist countries. There had to be "reserve" powers in the Assembly, said the Norwegian Foreign Minister, to enable the UN to carry out its obligations with respect to peace in the event of Security Council paralysis. "Precious as may be the role of unanimity among the big powers," he said, "it is not more precious than world peace."

But while the small and middle powers voted to limit the right of veto and to strengthen the collective-security machinery of the UN, they are not without apprehensions about the changes taking place. The Norwegian Minister's phrase "reserve" powers reflected the desire of the smaller nations that the way around the veto should be used only when there no longer was any chance for success of the mediation procedures within the Security Council. Trygve Lie reflects the views of these powers when he keeps on reminding the Big Five that "if we are to be successful in preventing a third world war we should seek new ways to use the Security Council as much as possible as a place for quiet exploration and negotiation of conflicting positions as well as for public debate."

Most nations want to maintain the universal character of the UN in order to keep this point of contact with the countries behind the Iron Curtain, and they submitted the Acheson resolution to a critical examination lest it be a prelude to so drastic a reorganization of the UN that the Soviet bloc would have been forced out. Big, middle and small powers are agreed that such a split would weaken the UN, for it could easily lead to the withdrawal of countries such as those of Southeast Asia which do not wish to align themselves irrevocably with either side in the Cold War. India, in fact, has been so doubtful of the consequences of the Acheson reforms that she has declined to comply with the earmarking request out of a fear that emphasis on the mili-

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tary-enforcement aspects of the UN might overshadow its mediatory functions.

Some of the Atlantic Pact countries have evinced concern over the changes in the UN lest military-enforcement measures against a secondary aggressor dissipate the strength of the free world. To prevent the Soviet Union from exploiting the principles of the Charter to involve the Western powers in a series of exhausting peripheral wars, it has been suggested by statesmen like Lester Pearson of Canada that condemnation of aggression need not necessarily be followed by economic and military sanctions. In their view, enforcement action should be related to the practicability of sanctions and the general political and strategic picture at the time of the aggression.

This, it is felt, will require a greater sense of responbility on the part of some of the Member States who have a tendency "to defend moral principles with other people's resources," as one Commonwealth delegate put it. He was referring to the fact that a majority of the nations which voted enthusiastically to condemn Peking as an aggressor still have not contributed forces to Korea, and many countries not trading with Peking had no difficulty in voting for the embargo.

Some of the Atlantic Pact countries have pointed out ruefully that in the General Assembly the 20 votes of Latin America outweigh the combined vote of the Commonwealth and Atlantic Pact nations. This was not too important when the issues of world peace and security were dealt with exclusively by the Security Council. Now that fateful responsibilities have been conferred on the General Assembly, whose rules of procedure were not fashioned with such responsibilities in mind, it has become a matter of some concern that the vote of El Salvador weighs equally with that of one of the Big Five.

Sir Gladywn Jebb has suggested that perhaps there ought to be some system of weighted voting proportioned to the real power and influence of nations. But the index of such power and influence would have to be factors such as population, productive capacity, national income, education, and would such a weighted system, asked Jebb, differ too greatly from the "special position accorded the Great Powers under the present Charter?"

How have the Russians reacted to these historic changes in the UN? In the General Assembly debate on the Uniting for Peace Resolution, Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky argued that the principle of unanimity formed "the cornerstone and very basis of the UN." He warned that if it were no longer possible for a sovereign state to defend its rights and interests by "relying on the principle of unanimity" the UN would "degenerate into a one-sided organization of some group of States."

Vishinsky said it was impossible to strengthen the UN by weakening the Security Council which alone had the rights and powers to deal with aggression and threats to peace. On the other hand, he raised no objection to the Peace Observation Committee proposal and blandly introduced a resolution calling on the Security Council to get on with the job of setting up the enforcement machinery envisaged in Articles 43 to 47 in the Charter.

A more ominous note, however, has been sounded since then by Stalin. In his interview with *Pravda* on February 17, 1951, he said that the UN, which had been created "as a bulwark for preserving peace, is being turned into an instrument of war" and was "ceasing to be a world organization of nations enjoying equal rights." "The UN," he warned, was "taking the inglorious road of the League of Nations . . . dooming itself to disintegration."

This may or may not be a prophecy of a Soviet walkout from the UN at Paris next winter. For most of the world, however, the road taken by the UN since June 25, 1950, seems the one most likely to save it from the fate of the League.

POLIO—AND WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT

by Bruce Bliven

ONCE AGAIN, the polio season is here; and once again, millions of parents all over the country will begin to worry about the chance that their children will get the disease. Most of the worry will prove unnecessary, when the return of cold weather cuts down to a minimum the likelihood of infection; but that, of course, is no comfort now.

Here, in condensed question-and-answer form, is the current scientific opinion on various aspects of polio:

What is polio? It is a disease caused by various types of viruses; immunity to one of them does not immunize against the others. At least three of these types are known.

Is it a children's disease? No; anyone not immune can get it, at any age. The reason it seems to strike children more often, and is therefore sometimes called "infantile paralysis," is that most adults have at one time or another had a light attack, usually without knowing it, and have acquired an immunity thereby. This is true of about 80 percent of all individuals over 15. Presumably, many people may have had such light attacks of two or more of the major forms.

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If the mother of a newborn baby has acquired an immunity, the baby comes into the world with its proportionate share of the mother's antibodies. These protect it for the first few months, or possibly a year or two, of its life; after that, it is on its own.

How serious is polio? In 1949, the worst year known thus far, there were about 42,000 cases in the United States. The authorities are seriously disturbed because in the past few years there has been a marked increase.

Of the total number in any year, one-half will get well without any aftereffects; one-quarter will have a moderate degree of paralysis, not crippling; 17 percent will be severely crippled, and 8 percent will die. With the new and improved techniques for detection and therapy, the proportion of those who die or are severely crippled is steadily going down.

How is polio transmitted? We don't know. The virus has not been found to appear naturally in the system of any of the lower animals, wild or domestic, or in any insect except one type of non-biting fly. Under suspicion as vectors (carriers, not themselves affected) are flies. In laboratories cockroaches, after being fed polio virus, have excreted it in sufficient quantities to kill mice; but this does not necessarily mean that they carry it in a state of nature. The best guess is that the virus is harbored in human beings, transmitted in the secretions of the throat or the excretions of the bowel, and carried, through intimate personal contacts, into the intestinal tract of the next victim. Thence it moves via the nervous system to the brain and spinal cord.

The crippling effect of polio is entirely due to its influence on the nerve tissue. If the nerves are only damaged, the patient can recover without crippling. If the nerve tissue is destroyed, crippling is inevitable.

What can be done to ward off polio? The scientists wish they knew! An important safeguard is certainly to avoid overfatigue and chilling. (President Roosevelt, you remember, was attacked by polio after swimming in cold water and sitting around in a wet bathing suit.)

Removal of tonsils and adenoids definitely increases the danger of polio infection, and should therefore be avoided during outbreaks.

Pregnancy increases the susceptibility to infection.

A bitter controversy is now raging as to whether vaccination against diphtheria and whooping cough is undesirable during the polio season; the investigation of this point is still inconclusive.

Are some areas safer than others during an epidemic? It is a fact that the incidence of polio, during even a severe epidemic, varies enormously. For example, in 1949 the rate varied from 86 cases per 100,000 people in Idaho down to five cases per 100,000 in South Carolina. In the next epidemic, however, these figures might be reversed. We simply do not know enough to say why any area is good or bad at one time or another. People get polio while living on remote ranches, many miles from the nearest neighbor; others go unscathed in the swarming slums of great cities. Out of a classroom of children sometimes only one child is affected; in other cases, several.

Scientists are not now aware of any reason to recommend that city children should be sent to the country, or the seashore, to protect them. The wise parent will consider the psychological harm that might be done to the child who feels that he is being hurried away to escape some unknown danger, and is perhaps thrown into the midst of strangers. Such a parent, wherever he and his child are, will follow these precautions, recommended by the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis:

See that all members of the family get plenty of rest and are not chilled.

Keep the house, and especially the food, as clean as possible. Hands should be thoroughly washed after every visit to the bathroom, and always before eating, whether at mealtime or otherwise. Under epidemic conditions, parents should avoid crowds, for themselves and their children.

What are the symptoms of polio? If during the polio season a member of your family has feverishness, sore throat, headache, upset stomach or sore muscles, put him to bed, keep others out of the room and call a doctor. There is an overwhelming likelihood that the disease is not polio, but it is wiser not to take a chance.

What if you cannot afford to pay for treatment? Any family with a polio case can call the local chapter of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis and obtain the needed financial assistance for the best available treatment, no matter how expensive, no matter how prolonged.

What are they doing to eradicate polio? More than 500 research projects in 92 laboratories, most of them in universities, are working on this question, mainly with funds supplied by the March of Dimes. A great deal has been learned, and progress is encouraging. A vaccine has been developed that protects monkeys (the only laboratory animal with a susceptibility similar to that of human beings). What is needed for children, and for the 20 percent of adults who are not naturally immunized, is of course a multiple immunization agent effective against the three or more major types of the virus. Human experimentation must eventually be carried out to determine the practicality of human vaccination. Certainly, there is no reason for pessimism. Sooner or later, we shall conquer this killer, as we have conquered so many others.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *A Subpoena for Dewey*

IN HIS NEWSWORTHY and forceful column of June 29, Drew Pearson suggested that the Senate Crime Investigating Committee subpoena Governor Dewey. But before this timely suggestion could be acted upon, Dewey, like an old soldier, had "just f-a-d-e-d a-w-a-y." The committee has already subpoenaed Gov. Fuller Warren of Florida. Why make a teacher's pet of the man who pardoned "Lucky" Luciano, the underworld character, who forthwith transferred the seat of his criminal operations from New York to Sicily? It does not seem fair. There are facts in connection with Luciano and his release from the penitentiary by indulgent Dewey when a long prison sentence had scarcely begun to run. Thomas "Evasive" Dewey knows these facts, and the Crime Committee ought to know them.

On June 29, in an editorial entitled "Luciano Inc.," the New York *Herald Tribune* referred to the Lucky One as a "deported panderer and boss gangster." He was described as a "master mind in the business of smuggling heroin into the United States." For good measure it added, "Certainly there is nothing too low for Luciano. He is an old hand at the dope racket and it is unlikely that Luciano, in compulsory exile, has failed to keep his dirty hand in." The editorial also states the fact to be that "there has been a great increase in drug smuggling from Italian ports, beginning with 1947, a few months after Luciano was sent back to Italy."

However, who sent Luciano back to Italy, and why, does not seem to be of concern to this usually excellent newspaper. It is Republican and so is Dewey, although its partisanship was not apparent in the handling of the MacArthur tourbillion. The softness of this newspaper toward Dewey is characteristic of other newspapers of both parties. And, so far, the Senate Crime Committee, the majority of which is composed of Democrats, has spoken softly, or rather has not spoken at all, where Dewey is concerned.

As a matter of fact, his pardon of the vile and notorious Luciano is not the only thing that Governor Dewey ought to be required to explain, since apparently he has no intention of testifying voluntarily. If he is subpoenaed, as he should be, and put under oath, I hope that he will be subjected to something better than a "Nancy, Clancy, You're My Fancy" examination. It has been disclosed more than once that when in a tight corner, Governor Dewey will not hesitate to evade or play tricks with the facts. For instance, when he released this trafficker of women in involuntary prostitution, he gave as a flimsy excuse that it was for some valuable service performed for the Navy during the war. Not even a flat denial of this invention by the Navy elicited from Dewey the truth, nor from the newspapers, in whose eyes apparently he can do no wrong, a criticism of his cynical mocking of justice.

Surely a committee of the US Senate, doing a serious job investigating vice and crime and the connection, if any, between such men as Luciano and Costello with law-enforcement agencies, will want to follow up the clues that have been developed recently. It will want to know what connection, if any, Luciano has with vice and crime in New York or elsewhere. Only a few days ago, two of his New York ring were sentenced to the penitentiary. Dewey, as the Governor of his state, ought to want to help to uncover the facts, for which reason one would think that he would volunteer to appear as a witness before the committee. With his law-enforcement background and his sources of information he must know that notorious conditions exist in New York City and even in the state capital itself, within whiffing distance of the gubernatorial nose. At least one inquiring US Senator has publicly asked a troublesome question or two about open and notorious gambling in Saratoga. Since Dewey has held high office and has cherished an ambition for many years for a still higher one, on the basis of his daring-do deeds as a prosecutor of criminals and a breaker-up of crime rings, why should he have run away for an extended vacation when he could have helped greatly in uncovering and cleaning up conditions that are a corroding blight upon American institutions?

He got away on his 45-day trip with suspicious haste and without his customary beating of the tom-toms. He announced that he was going at his own expense, and yet he has taken with him three highly placed and highly paid New York State officials. It is fair to ask who is paying the expenses of these three, even if Governor Dewey has been able to take care of his own out of the profits of his farm.

Senator O'Conor's committee might also investigate the circumstances surrounding the withdrawal of "Good old Joe" Hanley as a candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor of New York in 1950. As an inducement to Hanley to clear the track for himself, Governor Dewey promised him a highly paid state job, while wealthy friends of his proposed to raise a considerable sum to pay non-existent debts of Hanley's

(Continued on page 23)

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

RED SPECTRUM: THREE REPORTS ON ASIA

by Victor Purcell

THE GREAT world-cry of today is for "equality." The theory is that every human being is equal to the next except in possessions, opportunity and political status. There is a tremendous outpouring of literature (much of it guilt-conscious and emotional) to prove that humanity is one and that differences of color, nationality and social organization are accidental and unreal. But not a man jack among us believes a word of it. The one great human quest is for a creature to look down upon. It seems to be a fundamental need of human nature to have someone to despise, but since the general standard is so low, belief in one's own superiority usually needs the help of self-deception. The two great obstacles to an unqualified feeling of superiority are knowledge and intelligence.

RED STORM OVER ASIA, by Robert Payne (Macmillan; $5).
RED BANNERS OVER ASIA, by O. O. Trullinger (Beacon; $3).
CHINA'S RED MASTERS, by Robert S. Elegant (Twayne; $3.50).

I owe an important discovery of my youth to Gibbon. He tells us that when the Emperor Didius Julianus entered the palace and saw the dismembered trunk of Pertinax and his frugal supper, he turned from the first with indifference and from the second with contempt. Hitherto I had taken it for granted that contempt existed only when it was justified, yet here was Pertinax, a philosopher and a patriot, and Didius Julianus, a mere vulgar plutocrat who had bought the empire at public auction from the Praetorian Guard! Bertrand Russell in his book, *The Problem of China* (1920), speaks with indignation of seeing an educated Chinese thrust off the pavement in a Chinese city by a European of low culture, yet while such conduct is revolting, I confess that when I first went to Canton thirty years ago there was ample excuse on the face of things for believing the Chinese to be inferior to ourselves in some essential respects. Everything Western was so efficient, so clean, so neat; most things Chinese were so untidy, so drab, so inefficient, so poverty-stricken. And most of the obvious material things in the city that were at all tolerable — modern buildings, tarred roads, plate glass, paint, automobiles—were Western-manufactured or derived. It took a great deal of study before one realized that this was a recent development and that before the Industrial Revolution in the West, China had supplied necessities like tea and cotton "nankeens" to Europe and America and elegancies such as silk, porcelain, fans and screens (and wanted no Western manufactures in return), and that by a sort of Gresham's Law Manchester cottons and Brummagem pots and pans were substituted for the native articles. But most traveling Westerners have never made this discovery and in (say) the Shwe Dagon pagoda in Rangoon they see only the quaintness and the tawdry Western ornaments and nothing of the noble doctrine of Dhamma, still an effective, if diminished, force in the life of Burma, Siam and Ceylon. They know nothing of the impact of the material West which forced Asia into an inferior position and are, therefore, entirely confused by the reaction now taking place.

Asia is awakening; her values are in the melting pot. She needs Western capital goods and skills: we need her raw materials and (though we don't seem to know it) her good will. How can we export our goods and skills without incurring resentment for our terms and without forcing Asia into the arms of Communism? The three books here reviewed are the latest to attempt an answer. All three of them show signs of hasty compilation to meet a popular demand, though Elegant's is the best documented and Payne's the best produced and with the fewest misprints. The titles of the first two are obviously adapted from Edgar Snow's classic, *Red Star Over China*, and in plagiarizing each other as well as Snow they suggest a common bankruptcy of invention. Moreover, in all three titles there is an excess of *red* which gives a lopsided effect, since Asia herself does not wear the same scarlet goggles and is disposed to see the political spectrum in more varied tints. But the three authors prove that they are nevertheless aware that a deeper significance exists in the revolution in Asia than a simple clash of two rival ideologies: capitalistic democracy and Communism.

O. O. Trullinger says that the difference between the two ideologies is one of degree and not of kind, and that we cannot combat Communist theory by another theory so akin to it as to be of the same nature. He believes that while Western material aid should be given to Asia, indigenous movements of a socio-religious and religio-political nature should be strongly supported. But surely he does not propose American support of the Hindu Mahasaba or of the extremist Moslem parties in Indonesia? The fact is that Hindu, Moslem and even Buddhist revivalist societies are always of a politically reactionary kind and any Western support of them would provoke a most violent reaction on the part of the bulk of the peoples of newly liberated Asia.

Robert Payne's virtuosity ranges post-haste over a whole continent and his Muse pullulates with dizzying speed. (I say his *Muse* rather than his *Daemon*, for while he gives himself little time to dig deep, to select, or compress, there runs through his writing a vein of redeeming poetry.) He declares that the fate of the world depends upon the speed with which America becomes aware of responsibilities, and he offers a

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draft Manifesto for the USA to proclaim to Asia. It includes an Asiatic Relief Program on the same scale as ECE, and declares that the enemy is "totalitarian, bureaucratic, nihilistic Communism," while "Asiatic Communism, so far as it differs from Russian Communism," is to be aided. His Manifesto is silent upon such vital issues as a settlement in Korea and he does not say whether Chinese Communism is to be regarded as of the Russian or non-Russian variety. Payne conveys a burning zeal for world understanding, but his Manifesto has been so adapted to meet contemporary American party prejudices as to be to a great extent contradictory.

Of the three books, that of Robert S. Elegant has the most usefulness to the student of Asian affairs and gives more that is new. *China's Red Masters* consists of a score or so of short biographies of the makers of the New China, compiled from Chinese sources and fully documented. It deserves a place in any reference library on modern China. One is struck anew by the stark, autochthonous quality of these leaders—Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, Ting Ling, General Chu Teh, Chao En-lai, Mao Tse-tung—elemental beings sprung fully armed from the dragon's teeth of social conflict. But who was the Cadmus who sowed the teeth? Not Marx, I think, but Vasco da Gama.

Of the trio Trullinger's is the least satisfactory (no index and many slips, as, for instance, where the number of Malays in the Federation of Malaya is given as 5,000,000 and 2,250,000 on the same page), but all three authors have had close contact with their subject and are better aware of the essential nature of the Asian revolution than their titles or blurbs suggest. They will all help the general reader in his difficult lesson that in Asia we are not dealing altogether with cretins, conspirators against Uncle Sam, juvenile delinquents or men in the moon.

Victor Purcell lived in Canton from 1921-24 under the Sun Yat-sen regime and accompanied Chiang Kai-shek's ministers in the retreat from the Japanese in 1937. In 1945 he was principal adviser to the British Military Administration in Malaya and later a consultant to the UN on the Far East. His most recent book is The Chinese in Southeast Asia.

METHODS AND ENDS

SCIENCE AND COMMON SENSE, by James B. Conant (Yale University Press; $4).

LONG AGO Pascal remarked, "Chance favors only the prepared mind." At a time when our government is footing the bill for scientific research as never before in recorded history—witness the National Defense Establishment, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Public Health Service and the National Science Foundation, among other enterprises—the chances for America's, and democracy's, survival would appear to depend upon the citizens as a whole being prepared to understand what science means in their lives. Because knowledge of the tactics and strategy of science is important for everyone, from the men of high office in Washington to the voter in Oregon, President James B. Conant of Harvard has set forth what he considers the simple essentials of a complicated and ramified subject.

The thesis of the book is to show, by selected instances, the appropriateness of his definition of science. "Science," he writes, "is an interconnected series of concepts and conceptual schemes that have developed as a result of experimentation and observation and are fruitful of further experimentation and observations." The significance of the definition is brought out again and again in the book by showing that the way to fundamental science is the path from empiricism to conceptual schemes, that pure science is not what Bacon called power over nature, nor is it what Karl Pearson once called "training the mind to an exact and impartial analysis of facts." The work of the artisan, the inventor, and the experimenter who sets a practical aim for himself, is relegated to a status inferior to the scientist who aims only at "broad conceptual schemes." Theories, like those of Boyle, who conceived of air as an elastic fluid; Lavoisier, who conceived the principle of the balance sheet in chemistry; Pasteur, who associated fermentation with the presence of living organisms, and many other ideas, are the plums for scientific appetites. The career of science is to pass from simple observations through the understanding of functions and relationships in quantitative terms, to the ultimate joy of generalizations ever broader and more inclusive in scope.

Conant lays himself wide open to the charge that his brand of scientific knowledge is an end in itself, to be savored for its own sake rather than for the ultimate and beneficial consequences it may bring. He creates a gulf between science and society by pleading that the scientist should be left free of all social aims and directives. It will be hard, for example, for those engaged in medical research to agree that there is no such thing as medical science but only an applied group of techniques parasitically drawing upon "fundamental" sciences. ("The equivalents of the applied research laboratories of industry are those located in medical schools and research institutes. . . . ") He has too easy a case when he shows that science dies when it is directed by society—and offers as example the Soviet Union. He is distressing, possibly romantic, when he argues that fundamental science will be furthered only when an "uncommitted investigator" works alone and detached, *without programs or research staffs*, in the seclusion of a university. Society, Conant implies, must be mute as well as patient; from time to time something of practical use may emanate from the mind of the scientist, and it is thought to be better for civilization that way.

In his preface, Conant draws attention to the fact that experiences at Harvard in the field of "general education"—in this case, teaching science to those who will not enter the sciences as their vocation—helped him formulate his point of view regarding what the layman should know about science. What to teach non-scientists about science is admittedly a vexing problem. But does Conant's point of view, discussed above, reveal the essence of science? And is his method of abstraction, whereby certain examples from the history of science are discussed in isolation from surrounding conditions of human life, the best way of initiating the layman into the ways of science in the modern world?

Whatever the answer, Conant's view

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and method run counter to a recent proclamation of Harvard professors regarding techniques in "general education." For his colleagues agree that "in the General Education courses there should be careful selection of the subjects studied, on the assumption that though much is therefore left out, such selectivity would make possible a more searching analysis of the subjects dealt with, *an analysis which should attempt to relate the problems or books studied to a wide range of human ideas and experiences.*" (Italics mine.)

One wonders whether a better technique than that exemplified in Conant's book for attaining these objectives in the natural sciences might not be to study, let us say, the internal-combustion engine—something upon which we suspect Harvard undergraduates depend pretty heavily. The application of principles of mechanics, thermodynamics, theory of gases, metallurgy, and so on, might more easily be assimilated. The nature and development of those principles would have a vitality few could deny. The fact, from which Conant shies away, that wherever science is, it has a human context and is prized only because of this, could be made indelible. The social risks as well as the social assets of science could be made clear.

But perhaps the really great value of Conant's book lies just in the way in which he has prompted us to discuss it. It should stimulate scientist and non-scientist alike to clarify their thinking about the nature and aims of the sciences. FREDERICK DE W. BOLMAN JR.

Frederick de W. Bolman Jr., president of the Jamestown Community College of the State University of New York, is the author of a book on German philosophy and a number of articles on modern philosophy and education.

THE MEASURE OF CHAPLIN

CHARLIE CHAPLIN, by Theodore Huff (Schuman; illustrated, $4.50).

THERE IS an old joke concerning the different approaches of three nationalistic temperaments to the subject of the elephants. The British approach: a book called *Elephant Hunting in Tanganyika*; the German approach: *The Mental Processes and Reflexes of the Elephant*; and the French: *The Sexual Life of the Elephant.* (The parable of the seven blind men and the elephant is similarly apropos.) The intellectuals have written learned analyses of Chaplin, here and abroad; the fan-magazine and sleek-periodical writers have presented him as a popular figure to the masses; others have exploited the "sensational" aspects of his private life in books and pamphlets that were no more than scandal-mongering animadversions. Theodore Huff falls into none of these categories. His book is unique among all the books on Chaplin in that it deals, for the most part, with the films themselves, being the first complete account of the nature of every Chaplin film from *Making a Living* (1914) to *Monsieur Verdoux* (1947). Of course, there are sidelights on the man—an account of his youth and struggles, his maturity and struggles. Just enough of these details is given to fill out the backgrounds against which certain of his films were made.

Huff is the archtype of the "eternal fan"—and therein lies the book's chief charm. He is not a writer in the creative sense and, indeed, the book is indifferently written. Curiously, this is of no consequence. The simple, matter-of-fact style suits the book's purpose perfectly and there is more wheat and less chaff here than in many a more ambitiously conceived (and overwritten) book on our century's prince of pantomime.

"In the beginning," Max Reinhardt once said, "there was Chaplin." And, indeed, before him darkness lay on the face of the cinema. But from *The Tramp* (1915) to *Verdoux* (1947), this fumbling new art was enlivened and made malleable by the creative imagination of one man in an almost unbroken continuity of exquisite comedies that are no less a contribution to the culture of the West than is Balzac's own *Comédie Humaine.* Would not Balzac have adored Chaplin? And Rabelais? And Dickens? And Chekhov? There you have the measure of Chaplin.

HERMAN G. WEINBERG

Herman G. Weinberg, former American representative of the British Film Institute, is correspondent for Cahiers du Cinema, Paris.

THE SOCIAL ANIMAL

THE HUMAN COMMUNITY, by Baker Brownell (Harper; $4).

IN THIS VOLUME the author proposes to inquire "why the community is so little the concern of philosophers and educators." The major problem in America, as he insists, is "the disintegration of the community and its slow extinction in the western world." Our tendency to rely on individualism in the quest for meaning is a dangerous mistake. Individualism "can give no stable form or continuity either to society or to education." It can apply "no alternative continuity, no inner form, no ordering of life. This inner initiative toward order is found not in the 'individual' as such, but in more concrete human reality. It is found in the community."

What then is meant by this all-important concept of the community? Despite the early promise (p. 4) that a definition of this concept will be provided, the meaning remains obscure. What we get instead (p. 281) is a final reassuring statement that

> a man will remain organically continuous. He will remain multifunctional and multievaluational within the whole, for the community alone can respond in this way. The human community is both a factual situation and a moral or normative pattern. It is an organization of value that emerges from the poetic substance of the community itself. As such the human community is the condition and the spiritual concomitant of all philosophical or artistic behavior. These summarizing statements I shall leave as a kind of conceptual condensation of what in life is above all vivid and real.

Translated into English, this statement seems to be intended primarily as an assertion that the community is an indispensable source of moral or normative patterns. Whether this tells us very much, however, is not clear. It certainly does not press the issue whether these patterns are generated from within the life of the community or derived from a transcendental source. It is precisely at this point that the past and the present, the "traditional" and the "scientific," are in conflict with each other, and it is at this point also that

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modern man is conspicuously victimized by uncertainty and confusion. It is doubtful whether a discussion of the "community" is of much help, as long as the chief source of trouble is not pointed out and subjected to a critical examination.

BOYD H. BODE

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FICTION PARADE

MAN AND BOY, by Wright Morris (Knopf; $3).

THE SEASON OF THE STRANGER, by Stephen Becker (Harper; $3).

THE ISLAND IN TIME, by Ernst Pawel (Doubleday; $3).

IN THE most neatly ambiguous jacket plug I can remember, Miss Marianne Moore calls *Man and Boy* "with or without regrets . . . a contribution to American writing," and its author "a virtuoso of verisimilitude." With at least the latter opinion I cannot dissent. For Wright Morris is an inspired prop-man. His interiors, his solid objects, his foodstuffs, his household fixtures, are invariably right; icebox pans, newspapers on the floor, stuck bureau drawers, socks wadded like pincushions, laundry in the basement, banging hot-water pipes, tuna fish, corns . . . I can't think where, unless possibly in those Folk-Next-Door epics David O. Selznick got out during the last war, the middle-class, Middle-Western, middlebrow *mise-en-scène* has been more exhaustively *produced*.

Unhappily though, Morris does not just cast a documentary eye over these sets. He peoples them, or at least he introduces a cast; and that is his undoing. When Mr. Ormsby opens the icebox door he is overshadowed by the reality of what's inside; and Mrs. Ormsby, cut, with an eccentric tuck or two, to Philip Wylie's "Mom" pattern, is never so credible as the contents of her sewing-machine drawer. The effect is like that of those window displays in which a cardboard housewife is bending over a stove which can really bake a pie. And as for Morris' thesis—that "Mom" is her own family's Frankenstein-creation—I found it, at best, a hammock-variety view.

If, then, there is anything about *Man and Boy* which makes me think Miss Moore was not being wholly ironical in her remarks, it is the warm, live, speaking voice in which it is told. Too many writers today, still whoring after mid-nineteenth-century ideals of omniscience and impersonality, persist in trying to create the illusion that their stories are not being told. Nothing is more absurd. A story is first and foremost something originating in the memory and imagination of an articulate narrator. Painting and music have already given up the pretense of being more than their respective media prescribe, but much narrative writing continues to lag behind. Many novelists who are otherwise Morris' betters might study his accomplishment in this respect.

The privilege of a private life for every individual is taken for granted in *Man and Boy*, as it is in most novels. But the people in *The Season of the Stranger* and *The Island in Time* are caught up in a maelstrom of public events in which such opportunity is largely suspended. Stephen Becker's book deals with a group of Chinese students and their American teacher during the siege and fall of their university town to Communist forces. Ernst Pawel's considers a colony of Jews interned on an island off Italy and waiting, in various stages of desperation and enervation, to get into Israel, where some sort of individual existence may begin again.

As novels, both are sincere, competent and unremarkable. They cannot be accused, as novels of this sort so often are, of failure to dramatize; in both cases we begin and end with particular persons and their relationships. Becker probably offers the greater topical interest. He does not see *only* Red when he looks at China; on the other hand, I don't think readers who do will be offended. For though, like Pawel, he endorses brotherhood, it is expressly and exclusively the kind that is freely entered into, or not entered into, by the individual brothers-to-be.

ROBERT PHELPS

Robert Phelps, who recently edited Melville's Confidence-Man and a selection of Aphra Behn's novels, reviews for the New York Times and the Nation.

THEATRE: French Immorality

THE THEATRICAL PICTURE of Paris, 1951, is easily summarized. There are 47 shows on the boards now—most of them mediocre or worse—rough though lively in acting, unusually ragged in staging though frequently imaginative in setting, playing to audiences that are critically passive but eager for whatever fun the spectacles provide. The French like the theatre even when it is bad.

The outstanding exceptions to the generalization are the productions of the Comédie Française company, which occupies two theatres. The actors have dignity—they speak and move well—even when they lack inspiration, the staging is careful even when it is conventional, and the repertory is varied. Where else today can one see so brilliant and classic an example of the 1910 French bedroom farce as Feydeau's *Le Dindon* (The Dupe) or such an old war-horse of the late nineties as Sardou's *Madame Sans-Gêne* on the same bill with plays by Racine, Molière, Sophocles, Pirandello and Shakespeare?

Anouilh still turns out acid comedies that are presumably to be taken seriously, but if *Colombe* (with Danielle Delorme) is to become typical of his future work one might as well write him off as a clever but tired confectioner. What is characteristic in Anouilh, and significant of a tendency to be observed in more imposing French writers, is a constant malaise.

La Neige Etait Sale (The Snow Was Dirty), the dramatization of a novel by Georges Simenon, is representative of this tendency on a semi-popular level. Its "hero," a boy born out of wedlock and brought up by his prostitute-mother, living his adolescence in an "occupied" country, has to give himself, out of an inverted and perverse puritanism, to filth and crime with the same sense of commitment as a saint gives himself to goodness. In the end, he goes to his death with calm elation because he discovers through his career of sin that love, pity and forgiveness still exist. The play suggests that today heaven is never entered except by way of hell.

Well-staged and acted, *La Neige Etait Sale* is done in an atmospheric style which combines a sketchy naturalism with elements of radio and movie technique. It manages to be effective because it avoids any explicit moral statement. It plays on the audience's unconscious guilt feeling, its repressed awareness of being soiled yet hungry for

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absolution. This shrewd entertainment is part superior horror story and part anxiety dream from which the audience awakes with the thought, "Thank God, it isn't true."

As we ascend to higher levels of creative intention, we must become more severe. There is something in the work of the better French dramatists today (frequently men who are primarily novelists or essayists) that must be characterized as morally and artistically unsound. It must be remembered, however, that when I talk about moral and artistic unsoundness I am not indulging in any disguised squeamishness. In fact, I speak with a certain respect. The "immorality" of the work I have in mind is actually an attempt at purification, an effort to recapture valid ethical truths, a recognition by the French that man cannot long endure an immoral or amoral state.

In Sartre's new (four-hour) play *Le Diable et le Bon Dieu*—very badly directed by Jouvet though well cast with the virile Pierre Brasseur—Goetz, a German mercenary soldier of the sixteenth century, acts as if he would be God's rival. He boasts that he does evil for Evil's sake. When he is told by a tormented priest that Evil is not only the easiest but man's inevitable path, Goetz decides to do good as completely as he once tried to do wrong. But he fails even more dismally in his second career—no one loves him for his attempted Christianity. He ends by denying both God and the Devil. There are no absolutes and man must content himself with being human—together with other men in his aloneness—living and fighting without metaphysical guarantees for whatever he believes in and chooses to take responsibility for. Goetz takes up the cause of the downtrodden Protestant peasantry whose rebellion was ruthlessly crushed.

Le Diable et le Bon Dieu has brilliant passages of talk, scenes that bristle with lucid, suggestive and energetic thought, which prove once again, despite long, ineffective stretches in the second and third acts, that Sartre is a writer to be reckoned with. The play is nonetheless a failure because its situations are artificial illustrations ("set-ups") and the mood created is one of neither love nor hate but only of intellection, its approach to life being arbitrary, abstract, fleshless. And here we face the real sin of the French playwrights: their work is about life, but outside it. Their plays do not seem inspired by the passion of an experience, but by the paradox of a debate. Their characters, no matter what they represent, are factitious absolutes which seem to move in an airless void entirely surrounded by literature and décor. Our minds finally are mystified because our souls are left vacant. The Greeks were abstract dramatists too, but they spoke with an emotional directness about situations which, although mythical in form, were believed in as the essence of reality. Where there is no immediate connection between the artist and his material we have a mismarriage—a kind of immorality that is always punished by life itself.

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ON THE AIR

Old Comics, New Techniques

HAVE YOU SEEN *Amos 'n' Andy* on television yet? It's on now, Thursdays at 8:30, over CBS's video facilities. Next to color television, *A & A* is the most controversial issue in television *right* now. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People denounces the show, accuses it of perpetuating the worst of the Negro stereotypes and calls for a national boycott of all Schenley Industries products—since the Schenley-owned Blatz beer is the sponsor. The Pittsburgh *Courier*, leading Negro newspaper, thinks CBS is now bringing to the air "a cute and amusing show," expresses satisfaction beause all-Negro casting for the programs give work to members of the race. CBS is keeping quiet, but you should speak up if you take your ownership of the airwaves seriously. My feeling is that *Amos 'n' Andy* has long outlived its day. There is no doubt that many Negroes live in accordance with the *Amos 'n' Andy* mores. There are also many Jews who behave that way, as well as people of Anglo-Saxon, Celtic and (probably) Hindu or Tartar stock. But in this social context I see nothing "cute" about shiftlessness and little that's "amusing" in a group of characters who live on the legal edge of chicanery. There is plenty of legitimate popular entertainment to be found in Harlem. And if the purpose of a program has anything to do with providing work for Negro actors, it can be achieved not only with greater dignity but also with much more common sense. However,

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my reaction—or that of any non-Negro—is nowhere near as important as the attitude of the NAACP, an organization which speaks for the intelligent Negro in this country. I don't think I could tell by taste the difference between Blatz and any other beer. But I can read labels, and if the NAACP asks me to watch for the name, I'll do so.

On the NBC-TV airwaves, I have something else to watch. It's a program called *American Inventory* (Sunday nights at eight). The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation has put up $85,000 to help finance this experiment in educational television (NBC's share, for the 26-week series, is approximately $75,000).

American Inventory is supposed to evaluate the content of our democracy and explain the machinery that makes it work. I didn't catch up on this one until the second installment—the first being confined apparently to considerable speech-making and professions of faith. The chapter that I saw was entitled "What Ever Happened to the Dollar?" It was a lesson in the meaning of inflation, done in the style of *The Living Newspaper* which was developed so successfully in the middle thirties by the Federal Theatre Project under the WPA. Ray Morgan provided the unseen, questioning voice; Dorothy Jarnac danced and gyrated throughout as the impersonation of the dollar. A large cast showed me how employment and earnings have increased since 1939, and there was an effort to lead me painlessly through the deep undergrowth of technical economics. By the time the half-hour was over, I wasn't sure whether I was being taught Keynesian doctrine or the economic theory of those Western cattlemen who want to help me by keeping all controls off meat. But I did know that inflation was something that's no good for me and that the doctors charged with finding a cure are at sixes and sevens.

On the other hand, I am sure that *American Inventory* is performing a useful experiment when it tries to find a way of treating serious subjects that will acquire and hold a sizable audience. I think that the use of *The Living Newspaper* technique is an excellent idea, a natural for TV. The example I saw lacked pace and did not nearly approach the excitement of the Federal Theatre. But the Sloan-NBC team is new at this thing and is going in the right direction. Davidson Taylor, who was one of the public-affairs brain-trusters at CBS for years, went over to NBC some months ago and this is the first major effort to come from his division. Because of this program, I'll even forgive NBC for hanging on Taylor's educational experiment the outrageous label, "Operation Frontal Lobe."

Following *American Inventory* on Sunday nights (*i.e.*, at 8:30), NBC-TV brings us *Recital Hall*. Gyorgy Sandor opened that series, and the night I tuned in I heard the great baritone, William Warfield. This is a low-budget program, using an accompanist and the soloist against a traditional recital-hall set. But the artists are from the top ranks, and there is a serenity about this program that makes its Sunday visit welcome. SAUL CARSON

(*Continued from page 17*)

long-deceased father. To carry out Dewey's promise, the people of New York now pay the shelfworn and ancient Mr. Hanley a salary of $16,000 and an expense account of $6,000, plus a pension of $4,000 and permission to practise law on the side. Not even Frank S. Hogan, the conscientious and able prosecuting attorney of Manhattan, has taken notice of this rank and sordid violation by high officials of a New York criminal law.

Governor Dewey's run-out to the Far East at this time can be explained only on the theory (a) that he was nervous about being subpoenaed by the US Crime Committee or (b) that, as I for one believe, he is still a candidate for President and hopes to find a new source of national publicity in Korea, Japan and Formosa. Perhaps he is playing both hunches. In any event, he is trifling with a situation already made highly explosive by a loquacious and insubordinate general. This is a time when Governor Dewey should be strictly attending to his knitting. HAROLD L. ICKES

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